





## The Liberator.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

## CLOSE OF VOLUME XXX.

The present number completes the THIRTIETH VOLUME of the Liberator, in full; but, in consequence of the pressure of important matters—especially in reference to the question of Southern secession—we shall add another number to be included in the present volume, which will be published on Monday next, Dec. 31.

We should like to commence our next volume with a large addition to our subscription list. It is a favorable time to subscribe.

## NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The following petition is now in the hands of reliable friends at freedom, in all parts of the Commonwealth, for immediate circulation. It is precisely the same which, for the two preceding years, has been signed by thousands of the most virtuous and humane citizens of the people, and which ought to be subscribed by every man and woman in Massachusetts. Those to whom it has been sent are earnestly urged to sign and forward it, for the time is short between the present and the period for the assembling of the Legislature. Let every family, and every person, be tested by its presentation; let it be (as it will) a revelation of character and of purpose; and let the world know how many there are among us who remember those in bonds as bound with them, and are therefore for protecting the fugitive, or, on the other hand, how many are still for allowing slave-hunters to seize their prey with impunity on the Puritan and Revolutionary soil of the old Bay State, and to act as their accomplices in kidnapping.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING in Massachusetts, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a Slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the Slave States of this Union.

## THE PRO-SLAVERY MOB AT THE TEMPLE.

The riotous interruption of the Anti-Slavery meeting held at the Tremont Temple on the 24th inst., by Richard S. Fay, J. Murray Howe, and others of that stripe, and its unlawful suppression in the sequel by Mayor Lincoln, have been duly set forth in our columns; but little has been said respecting the course of the daily press of the city toward that meeting.

We purpose, therefore, to say a few words in this direction.

Prior to the meeting, nothing adverse to it appeared in any of the daily papers, except the *Post*. That had two or three articles well calculated, and we believe expressly designed, to create a riot on the occasion. It branded the meeting as 'making a severe test of the forbearance of this community.' It expressed the hope that it would be abandoned, as calculated to augment the general distress and trouble. It taunted James Redpath with being an Englishman, but little has been said respecting the course of the daily press of the city toward that meeting.

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## ADDRESS OF JUDGE SHAW AND OTHERS, TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

It seems that the men of trade have succeeded in inducing the men of dignity and station to set this key-note for the humiliation of Massachusetts. Fortunately for us, the precipitation of South Carolina has produced a pause in our movements, all men looking with amazement to see what act of unspeakable folly she and her sisters in pro-slavery fanaticism will next commit. Most fortunately, at a time when it was to be feared that the mass of Massachusetts men would make the foolish and shameful concessions urged in the Address above named, they are obliged to pause, in consequence of the actual occurrence of the catastrophe which they had hoped to avert by the concessions in question. We have been thrown into a panic by the sudden outburst of eminent men, 'The house is falling!' What folly might have been committed, had the fright continued, what sudden, self-destructive rush we might have made, in the moment of alarm, (like Cowper's sheep, who were counselled by their leader to 'leap into the pit,' to escape the terrific noise of hounds and horns,) cannot now be told; but, most fortunately, before we had time for action, the crash came. The dreaded event had taken place; and we could stand still, and recognize the fact that, so far from being crushed—ruined—killed and smashed entirely—'not a bone of us was broken.'

We may profitably use this pause in looking deliberately at the assumptions made and the counsel given by Judge Shaw and his associates; in looking to see whether all their assumptions are correct; whether such of them as are really correct, do not point to a course of remedial policy quite different from the one suggested; and whether the policy suggested would not be practically ruinous, as well as disgraceful. The Address urges that a large and important part of our common country is excited and alarmed, and that this excitement and alarm are real, deep and general, throughout fifteen States.

Granted. But before their excitement and alarm can justify similar feelings on our part, we must look into the cause of them. Why are they thus agitated? The one cause of their disturbance is, that their 'peculiar institution' of negro slavery is growing less and less secure, and that they see more and more reason to believe that they can neither extend it nor perpetuate it!

Is this a reason for us to be alarmed? Is it not, on the contrary, the best news, with one exception, that could possibly come to our ears? Have we not long known this villainous 'institution' to be the chief disgrace and the chief danger of our country?

The very best thing that could possibly happen to the United States would be, for the slaveholding members of the Confederacy to apply their united energies to the abolition of slavery, and to pursue that work heartily and vigorously, until not a slave remained!

Does anybody doubt this? Does even Judge Shaw doubt it? It is perfectly plain that a course like this would remove the worst evils under which our country now suffers, and would open to her a career of prosperity such as she has never yet known.

The thing next best—next most to be desired—to a voluntary discarding of slavery by the slaveholders, is their inability to extend and maintain it. If slavery should grow unprofitable, diminish, and gradually die out, in spite of all the efforts of the slaveholders to sustain it, so that, at last, our country should become really a free country, a land of liberty, this would be the next most desirable thing for the whole nation.

It is precisely this thing, the weakening and decadence of slavery—the second best thing that could possibly happen to the nation—that has caused the 'excitement and alarm' of the fifteen slave States. Is this a cause for the free States to be alarmed? Is it not an unhopful blessing and advantage? Why should we fear it? Why should we not rather joyfully welcome it? Instead of dread and contesting this state of things, our wisdom would be, heartily to cooperate with the causes that have produced it.

The particular motive urged by the Address as requiring immediate action from the citizens of Massachusetts, is a fear lest the union of these States be dissolved; a union which the Address declares to be 'our honor and safety, abroad and at home.'

Our honor and safety! Let us see if the Union be really such.

If it were customary for England, France or Spain to imprison our sea-faring men, without the pretence of crime on their part, whenever our vessels entered their ports, and to compel our ship-masters, first to pay additional labor, and then, on their departure, to pay jail-fines for the outrages inflicted on their sailors, should, long ago, have demanded and obtained reparation. At present, we suffer such outrages to be constantly committed upon citizens of Massachusetts, without even a demand for justice, because we are in union with the States that commit them!

If England, France or Spain had insulted and ignominiously expelled from her territory a Commissioner sent by Massachusetts to look after the interests and rights of Massachusetts men, we should demand and obtain reparation for that. But we have quietly pocketed just such an insult and outrage, in repeated instances, because we were, and are, in union with the States that committed them!

If a citizen of Massachusetts, high in official station, and transacting important business for his native State in England, France, or Spain, were to be assaulted and half-murdered by officials in either of those countries, expressly because he was transacting his proper business among them, we should surely demand and receive reparation! At present, we are submissively bearing such an insult and outrage because we are in union with the State that committed it, and with other States that applauded and rejoiced over it!

Finally—to make but one further citation from the long catalogue of injuries and disgraces that Union has brought upon us—if it were customary for Massachusetts men, travelling for health, pleasure or business in England, France or Spain, to be seized, robbed, beaten, imprisoned, tormented and fettered, and insultingly expelled from those countries by their officials, upon holding or expressing certain opinions, or even merely for being Massachusetts men—we should surely, should we not, demand and obtain reparation. At present, we are in the habit of submitting quietly to such outrages, because we are in union with the States that commit them!

Is our enforced sufferance of such things as these the possession of 'honor and safety abroad and at home'? Is it really desirable for us to preserve the Union which has brought these injuries and disgraces upon us? Or, if other considerations render its preservation desirable, what security are we to have against the repetition of such outrages?

Strange to say, the Address does not mention this point, or notice it!

Strange to say, the Address not only seems to imply our continued submission, without remonstrance, to wrongs like these, but it proposes further concessions to the States from which we are now suffering such outrages, for the sake of continuing the Union with them!

Let us look at these additional concessions. There are two of them.

The first is, that we repeat certain laws, the enactment of which was found imperatively necessary to secure the liberties of our own citizens, on our own soil, from the assaults of citizens of other States, with which we are in union!

The second is, that we prevent our own citizens from giving relief to destitute and helpless strangers who ask aid of them, and that we formally make the State of Massachusetts an accomplice in whatever rob-

bery of the poor, and oppression of the weak, any citizens of our sister States (!) may choose to commit!

Strange to say, the Address deliberately recommends these concessions, and represents them as suited to promote the honor and the safety of Massachusetts!

In the name of Heaven, what, then, would be her danger and her disgrace?

The names of James M. Beebe and of Henry J. Gardner seem fitly enough appended to such an Address as this. It is a melancholy sign of the low grade of public morals and religion, when the names of eminent Judges, and of popular Clergymen, and of ex-Presidents of Harvard University, are also found appended to it.

We have long enough sacrificed duty and honor, justice and humanity, the credit of our State and the protection which we owe alike to its Senators and its mariners, to a superstitious notion of sacredness in the Union, which has extorted from us the sacrifice of all these things. We have shrunk from the duty of putting forth our hand to break this bond, this fetter, which men have dignified with the name of Union. But now, when a merciful Providence is kinder to us than our deserts; now, when the States that have so long outraged us are setting us free by taking themselves away, in God's name, let us not interpose obstacles to their departure! Let us not offer further protection to that villainous 'institution' which, having lived so far, because we have unjustly favored it, seems now about to die! Let us not so absurdly uphold the continuance of slaveholding by Southern men, as to offer ourselves to be their slaves! If we have not manhood enough to act, to advance, in this emergency, let us at least stand still, and look at the enemy! Let us not retreat!—C. K. W.

## PEACE AND LIBERTY.

An excellent sermon, suggested by, and suited to, the present aspect of public affairs, was preached by James Freeman Clarke, at the Indiana Place Chapel, on Christmas Eve. Its subject was: *The voice of Christ to this people at the present time.*

The coming of Jesus was announced as a coming of peace on earth, and good-will to men. And when he declared his own mission, he chose, as best suited to express it, these words of the Hebrew prophet, Isaiah:—

'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, To preach deliverance to the captives, And recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised, To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.'

Liberty and peace are the two chief elements of the work of Christ in the world. There are two kinds of liberty, and two kinds of peace. And if we would be followers of Him, we must discriminate between these, and choose the right.

Liberty is the following of that truth which we see with our own eyes. The following of error, or the blind adherence to another man's notion of truth, is not liberty.

Peace, too, may be outward or inward. The true peace cannot be bought by mere external conformity, still less by a compromise of right, or a concession to wrong.

After sketching the strong contrast now existing between Christmas in Massachusetts and Christmas in South Carolina, Mr. Clarke inquired:—What are our Christian duties at this hour, in reference to this contrast?

Alluding to the difficulty which many people find in judging of this matter, and to the very different conclusions to which they come, he said:—A moral difficulty is always a question between truth and love. The question is often solved by sacrificing one of the two to the other. But both should be invariably preserved.

We must never surrender truth for the sake of love, nor justice for the sake of peace. Our duty and our wisdom are, firmly to resist the demand, or the solicitation to do either.

We are now beset by demands from the South, and by solicitations from eminent citizens of Massachusetts, to concede these three things:—

1. To allow the undisturbed and permanent establishment of slavery in the Territories of the United States.

2. To repeal our Personal Liberty Laws.

3. To allow freedom of speech to be suppressed, and the mouths of abolitionists to be closed.

We are now called upon to consider and decide these things. What is to be said of them?

As to the first—it can never be permitted.

As to the second—Our Personal Liberty Laws were made for reasons of urgent necessity, which still exist; for an indispensable protection of our own citizens, endangered by the Fugitive Slave Law. It is our manifest duty to provide against the kidnapping of Massachusetts men; though, strange to say, the eminent men of this State, who are now appealing to us to abolish these safeguards, not only suggest no other mode of accomplishing this, but seem neither to have cared for, nor thought of it.

It is complained that these Personal Liberty Laws are unconstitutional. But this is an error. Portions of them were really unconstitutional when they were passed, at the suggestion of Governor Banks, soon after their enactment. The existing Personal Liberty Laws, however, at variance with particular laws of the United States, (the Fugitive Slave Law,) are in no manner or degree at variance with the United States Constitution. There is no need of repealing them.

But it is further complained that these laws of ours interpose difficulties—and were intended to interpose difficulties—to the re-capture of actual fugitives from slavery.

This is true, and it is right. It is our duty to free and help the escaping slave. God made him free; and he has additionally earned the right to freedom, by claiming and taking it.

The Constitution of the United States allows the master to recapture the fugitive, but it does not require us to do a work so repugnant to justice and humanity. If we comply with the letter of this law, this is all that the Constitution requires of us. Not an inch further of concession is to be made to a law contrary to natural justice. Our own principles have some claim to consideration, as well as the demands of the South. The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts opens with this statement:—

'Article 1. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.'

In accordance with these just and noble ideas, and with our own impulses of right and humanity, we will interpose every obstacle to the re-enslavement of a human being, which the spirit of our own truly free Constitution permits, and which the letter of the United States Constitution does not deny. Every possible advantage and facility are to be given to liberty. Not an inch beyond the strict letter of the United States Constitution is to be yielded to slavery. This second concession is, therefore, not to be granted.

Neither can we grant the third thing claimed, suppression of the freedom of speech, and interference with public debate about slavery. To attempt it would be futile, to accomplish it would be dangerous. Freedom of speech is our safety-valve. It must never be given up. There is no danger that this concession will be made, but the very attempt to make it, should be exposed and resisted.

The voice of Christ now says to us—Seek peace, but not by falsehood! Seek liberty, but not by hatred! Seek peace and liberty, but not by concession or compromise of principle.

If the slave States choose to go, for the sake of slavery, let them go. But let us adhere to liberty, at any cost.

Christ says to us—When ye hear of wars, and rumors of wars, be not troubled. Let us not be troubled.

We have had trials in our past history. The present may be, perhaps, the greatest of them. But, like the others, it is designed to lift us into a higher plane of action, if we use it faithfully.

Trusting in God, let us adhere to the right. Let us be gentle and sympathetic, yet loyal to truth.

Such is the substance of Mr. Clarke's Christmas Eve sermon. Being obliged to chronicle cases in which the pulpit perverts the Gospel, I rejoice to mention one case in which the preacher proved himself a minister of the Gospel.—C. K. W.

## FREE SPEECH AGAIN VINDICATED.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., being announced to deliver a lecture in Waterbury on Friday evening, rumors were very generally circulated in this city to the effect that a riotous demonstration would be made. The friends and supporters of Mr. Phillips, and others who feel interested in demonstrating the fact that any man may say whatever he pleases anywhere in Massachusetts, were considerably exercised thereby, and some fifty of them went out with the expressed determination to protect him with all hazards. The meeting was held at the Town Hall, which, at 7½ o'clock—the hour appointed for the lecture—was filled by an audience most respectable in every sense of that word. The entrance of Mr. Phillips was announced by a round of applause.

Mr. Phillips was introduced by Mr. MILES PRATT, who occupied the chair during the evening. After the applause which greeted his appearance had subsided, Mr. Phillips said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen.—Some two months ago the Chairman, Mr. Pratt, and myself made an agreement that I should come here to lecture in a sort of Lyceum experiment, to see whether we could resume or re-institute the Lyceum courses that have been held in this town in previous years, and we fixed upon this night and an old subject to try the temper of the population of Waterbury on that point. Well, since that time some people have lost a good deal of money in the stock market, who didn't want me to come here; and one of our State friends has run away, and left the household. We shan't advertise her, or ask anybody to bring her back, nor offer her any reward, (applause), and people who have felt some degree of grief at her loss from the family table think that I ought not to come here to speak; but what precise connection there is between my speaking and South Carolina going out of the Union, nobody has attempted to discover. (Applause.)

But still there was a great deal of feeling somewhere in the neighborhood as to whether Mr. Pratt and myself, or our friends in Waterbury, should attempt to reintroduce a Lyceum. Well, we concluded we would try. (Applause.) So here we are to-night to try, and we mean to do our best. If anybody don't like it, they can stay away, and if we get through comfortably, we shall probably try some other lecturer not so unpopular as I am, and see if we can succeed better. It seems to me that Waterbury is a very good place to try the experiment. I don't know where I could find a sifter field. The earliest record of Waterbury, in the history of Massachusetts, is that she was always making difficulty with the city of Boston. She was always finding out some extreme democratic theory of government which didn't suit Gov. Winthrop and the old South. (Applause.)

Well, it doesn't suit them now. It runs in the blood, that same old democratic spirit—words that have been abused here of late—let us give to them a respectable meaning—the same old spirit which in this town started the first germ of what we may call a real representative government of the Commonwealth, which under the first church of elder Knowles made glory for the rest of the colony. I hope it survives now,



for, for it emboldened the mob, who thought he would not dare to do more than that, and their violence was accordingly increased; and then as thought it necessary, to use balls. The necessity of doing so is a matter of opinion. Many persons in Portland, opposed to the measure, have thought they could have done better; but they were not clothed with authority, and therefore their efficiency can never be known. I think he did right, for I should have done the same.

D. S. GRANDIN.

[Translated for the Liberator from the Boston Pioneer (German) of Dec. 20th.]

## SLAVERY AND MOBCHRY AT THE NORTH.

It has been the boast of the Republicans, that under Lincoln they would restore freedom of speech and of the press at the South, maintain personal security, &c., and, in a word, carry out the Constitution. What we think of such brag and gammon, our readers have long understood, and we long ago explained, too, that to carry out the Constitution at the South would require as great force and energy as to conquer the South. We have, moreover, endeavored to make it clear, that we shall have no success against the conquest of the South by the South, of course, with the aid of Northern demagogues and mobs, in the interval between the 6th of November and the 4th of March,—where we dare to risk of trying the opposite experiment.

Thus far, the result has shown that we did not utter the Republican. A few weeks have elapsed since the Presidential election, and already we have got so far, that the question is not of the triumph of freedom at the South, but of the preservation of freedom at the North. What greater mockery than lies in the fact, that those who would restore freedom of speech at the South, abandon it in their own home, the free States, through indifference and cowardice, after a toilsome victory at the polls? If things continue as hitherto; if what has already happened in Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn and Washington, must be taken for a symptom of what is yet to happen; then one day it will read in history: 'After the election of Lincoln, there were in the North American Republic only two parties,—the traitors and the cowards. The former were the supporters of slavery in all inhabited States, the latter the supporters of freedom in all uninhabited Territories.' Look at this, Messieurs Republicans! You wish to keep slavery out of the free Territories, and you virtually allow it to establish itself in the free States. Or is it something other than slavery that makes compromises at Washington, and persecutes free speech in Philadelphia and Boston? Where are your Wide Awakes, when the defence of free speech against the brutality of slavery is at stake? Where are your Wide Awakes, when the issue is to crush out the mobocracy that is rampant before your eyes? Where are your organizations, your orators, your leaders, your principles, your promises? Every where the rabble is drummed together. In Union meetings, where the cause of freedom holds their master; why do you not call the Phrygian to their feet, to hold a muster of the friends of freedom? Every where, too, at the North are thousands ready to hang a free man; where are as many ready to defend him? Take away the police, and, in a fortnight, no truly free man would be alive in all the large cities. And yet this North has a victorious party, which wants to carry out the Constitution! Before the victory of the Republican party, one could still speak freely; after this victory, the lamp-post beckons to such as open their mouths! That is the great step forward. For the first time in the history of this country has one party triumphed in favor of another. Were it not for the Abolitionists and the free negroes, the world would no longer know that there are still at the North free men, determined at every cost to preserve the Republic from dishonor, and freedom from suppression. Your chattering in the press, as experience has shown, is not worth a rush. Where today you bully, tomorrow you crouch; and while today you cry, 'No more compromises!'—tomorrow you yourselves present the compromise on a salver. As long as you do not say and show—here are so many hundred thousand men, who are resolved and prepared not only at all hazards to restore the Constitution at the South, but also to annihilate at the North every violator of its rights—all your platforms are but empty words, and all your denunciations bullying.

There is nothing more instructive in the recent history of this Republic than the late occurrences in Boston.

We have already noticed the first debut of mobocracy in this country. The speaker at the Music Hall, before Mr. Parker's congregation. In that hall, in which the statue of Beethoven represents harmony, and the din of a fierce mob had never been heard, was present a gang of Southern sympathizers, who sought to continue the tune begun at the Tremont Temple. But they were not strong or resolute enough, and even without the police, were reduced to silence. This indignity the house of rebellion could not brook. The true mob, if it is not flattered by grape-shot and forced into silence by determined men, will consider a failed attempt to commit an outrage as an invitation to the commission of a greater. No wild beast possesses a more obstinate eagerness for blood and destruction than a mob whose bestial desires on the one hand are roused and encouraged, and on the other are not kept in check by fear and chastisement. It is a chief trait in the character of the mob, as manifested originally at the South, and then more successfully spread at the North, that it sees in every endurance of an outrage a justification of a new one, and in every repulse of the same a justification of revenge. The argument can import to it the consciousness of having perpetrated an outrage, the pleasure of whose repetition only force can rob it of. And if only one weak man confronts it, who can oppose it to no force and inspire it with no fear, the mob will persecute him the more implacably, the more cowardly he proves himself. Where the weakness of its adversary disarms noble and courageous men from shame and magnanimity, just there the man and cowardly man serves himself up as a feast of brutality for this weakness. If the people of the Revolution were a noble lion, the people of the Reaction are a loathsome hyena. No greater delight for a mob at the South than when some thousand barbarians can perform the exploit of hanging and burning a 'free' and fettered negro; no greater delight for a mob at the North, when some thousand apes of barbarism can perform the equally great exploit of murdering a free and unprotected abolitionist, or of trampling his human rights in the dust. To live to see such a brutality in a Republic, and especially in the 'Cradle of Liberty,' excites a greater loathing and a deeper revulsion than would the sight of a genuine cannibal performance in mid Africa.

What we experienced last Sunday in Boston belongs to this category. The speaker at the Music Hall was Wendell Phillips, and his theme was, 'Mob and Education.' It was known that a new, and of course improved, practical illustration would be lent his subject; wherefore a considerable number of police were deployed to the defence of the quiet Music Hall, and the military kept in readiness. The hall was filled as perhaps never before, and Phillips spoke as tapirously and resolutely as ever. It was soon manifest, that a large crew of disturbers of the peace

had there assembled, with the aim of proving their much-vaunted enthusiasm for 'order' and 'constitutional rights' by a contempt of all order and constitutional rights, when these were put in opposition to slaveholders and their Northern servants. But all their pains to disconcert the speaker, or to prevent the lesson designed for them, were vain. By way of amends, they had reserved the chief act of brutality for the street. There outside, from two to three thousand men awaited the speaker, the greatest, most radical, most independent, and most eloquent orator in America, in order to—hang him, in the 'Cradle of Liberty'! 'Kill him! hang him!'—was the cry on all sides from the Northern Jack Ketches in the service of the slaveholders. And the furious mob would have made good their word, if the man whom they had selected for a martyr to freedom had been without defence. A small number of determined friends kept off the fists of the barbarians, but they would probably have been overpowered, had not the police strengthened the escort, and accompanied Mr. Phillips to his home.

Consider this fact. In the year 1860, after a Republican victory, in the free city of the republic, in broad daylight and on Sunday,—that day which once kept this devoted populace in peaceful seclusion,—the greatest orator in America had to be escorted home by a police force, lest the freedom-loving populace should hang him to a lamp-post by way of recognizing his love of freedom! What is freedom, what is a republic, what is right, what is a people, what is humanity, and what is man? Is a republic an institution to rear barbarians? Are republicans necessary to place them in power? But there we have the result of slavery and the consequences of enduring it, and the wretched effect of a 'legal' indulgence of conditions for which no human law can exist. Slavery makes a coward of him who endures it, and a cannibal of him who protects it.

Shall we congratulate Theodore Parker, that he lay down to rest in the Italian soil, and lived not to see this disgrace? How would it have fared with him, the author of the revolutionary anti-slavery manifesto from Rome, if, in the sense of that document, he had just now in Boston Music Hall defended the rights of man and combated slavery? Has Boston the ambition to become the Northern Baltimore, way, to surpass Baltimore? In sight of the old Bunker Hill monument, is hanging threatened to the men who are fighting on the new Bunker Hill against the new oppression? If the spirit which now so unexpectedly rears its shameful head in this city is still to live some time, Senator Toombs need not bring his negroes here, in order, for the fulfillment of his prophecy, to call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill. The roll of his white slaves in Boston is already longer than that of the black ones on his plantation will ever be. What is left of freedom here, if the free word, whose surest protection should be the spirit of the people, can be spoken only under the protection of the police? Boston has taken a disgrace upon her, which she must efface at any cost, and if she herself has not the will and the strength to do so, the State must come to the rescue. They want to destroy freedom in Boston, that the money-bag may quietly serve the slave-whip. Unless the laws of the world are reversed, all Boston must be destroyed, sooner than it should witness the destruction of freedom.

## ALL COMPROMISES USELESS.

New York, Dec. 17, 1860.

Are we earnest? How vain is the hope by any tinkering of a committee to effect a settlement of this controversy that shall be satisfactory to the North and the South! Let us for a moment look at the true issue. More than half of those who voted for the Republican President elect, as we think, believe that slavery is a sin. They are desirous to relieve the Government of all responsibility with and for it. They could not be bribed, persuaded or coerced into aiding in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. They believe that slavery should be prohibited in the Territories, that it should be abolished in the District of Columbia. They believe that slavery is emphatically—in the language of the heroic Sumner—a barbarous institution; that a Christian man can no more sanction or uphold slavery, than he could sanction or approve of murder, adultery or arson. We believe in the higher law; and we claim the right to interpret the Constitution as we understand it. We tell you plainly and frankly—you of the Slave States, you slaveholders, while we disclaim any personal enmity or malice towards you—we hate your institutions. We declare uncompromising hostility against slavery,—politically everywhere on the face of the earth. We may be mistaken in assuming that more than half the Republican party hold these views; but we think, from the manner such sentiments are greeted at popular meetings, that such is the case. At any rate, the party holding such views, substantially, are respectable in numbers and determined in purpose, as the compromisers will find if they undertake to make concessions inconsistent with the Chicago Convention. That Convention and its candidate but faintly and feebly represented the moral conviction of Anti-Slavery men and women in the Free States. Pressing hard in the rear of that political organization, and supporting it, are the material interests and humane influences of the times. We cannot reverse the engine of human progress. Men of mercenary aims may damage and retard the movement, but the swelling tides of truth are rolling in with resistless power, and before them this ancient wrong must retreat. Let, then, every patriot, every anti-slavery man, in this hour of peril, stand firm. Whatever the result, let us do our duty. If driven from Washington, we will retire with our faces to the enemy. They may push their successes as they threaten to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Slavery may review its forces in Beacon street—call its roll on Bunker Hill. It may spread its tent in Newburyport, and use its Cushing for the legitimate purposes for which cushions are made. It may form a hollow square around the grave of Webster, and through Nehemiah Adams reiterate the sentiment that the Blue Ridge of Virginia is higher than the throne of God. Still, all is not lost. Quincy and Plymouth Rock are left; and, if driven from these, the friends of liberty, with their leaders and prophets, Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Beecher, Giddings and others taking up the Ark of Freedom, will retire to North Elba, that Calvary of our cause, and there, over the grave of its martyr, we will inaugurate our death, if need be, a conflict which shall end only in universal emancipation.

J. H. C.

## SECESSION AGREED UPON.

CHARLOTTE, Nov. 20. The Convention met today at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Kibben's resolution for a committee of thirteen to provide for the assembling of a Convention of the seceding States to form a Constitution was adopted. Mr. Inglis reported the following ordinance:—

'We, the people of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d of May, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and all acts or parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.'

The ordinance was passed unanimously by 169 members, at a quarter past one o'clock.

The news spread rapidly, and a crowd collected amid immense cheering.

Mr. Miles moved that the Clerk telegraph the intelligence to the members at Washington. Carried unanimously.

The ordinance was ordered to be engrossed on parchment, and to be signed by the President and members, at six and a half o'clock this evening, at the State Hall, and to be placed in the archives of the State.

## VALUE OF THE UNION.

The secession of one or more of the slave States from the Union, whether right or wrong, having now become a certainty, any further discussion of their constitutional rights to do so is useless. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that they have no such right, the questions to be considered are the duty and expediency, incumbent on the Federal Government, of preventing such secession by force. I shall not stop to discuss the duty which has already been done to a considerable extent, as I presume it will be allowed on all hands, that whatever may be the right of the free States to compel any of the slave States to remain in the Union, they are not under any obligation to do so, if they are willing to part with the seceding States. The only question, therefore, now to be considered, is the policy of preventing or permitting such secession.

This question has not been discussed; for it has been taken for granted by all parties, that the Union is in itself a blessing; that its dissolution would be an enormous evil; that it must be preserved at all hazards. But although this is the general doctrine with the leading politicians and papers in all except the seceding States, it is believed that there are thousands in the free States who silently dissent from this doctrine; and who are brought, by recent events, to doubt the value of the Union. The question will soon be forced upon us; and the remarks now offered are only an entering wedge; only to give expression to the suppressed sentiment of thousands.

The question in its simplest form is, What is the value to the free States of their federal connexion with the slave States?

1. Does the union of all the States give greater power to resist foreign aggression, and, of course, importance abroad, than would be possessed by any republic separated? In the early period of our government, when the States were few and weak, this might have been true; but now the truth is directly the reverse. Considering the magnitude of the uneasy slave population at the South; the necessity of protecting the Union from an internal, as well as an external enemy, our connexion with the slave States is an element of weakness, and not of strength; the free States separated would be decidedly more powerful without them.

2. Does our union with slave States increase our credit and respectability among foreign people, and admiration of our republican institutions? It is the uniform testimony of all travellers abroad, that our country is perpetually reproached with its maintenance of slavery; it is the triumphant excuse of despots; the discouragement of the advocates of popular freedom. The free States, while in the Union, cannot plead exemption from responsibility for it; for it is well known, that as great a support of slavery is effected by parties at the North, as by slaveholding interests at the South. Delivered from connexion with slavery, our free confederacy would stand the most glorious and admired in the world.

3. Does the Union ensure to our citizens greater harmony, order and good government? It is scarcely necessary to answer this question; for the most thoughtful mind must perceive that the irrepressible conflict which has disturbed our quiet, encroached on our rights and interests, and outraged our humanity, has entirely proceeded from our political connexion with slaveholding communities, and would cease with our separation.

4. Does the Union insure peace between the Northern and Southern sections of the country? Should there be an attempt on the part of the free States to the North to coerce any of the seceded slave States into the Union, undoubtedly there would be war; but should any States be permitted to secede by agreement and mutual consent, there would be no danger of war. The free States would have no interest or disposition to make war on the slave States; and the slave States, in view of their slave population, would not venture to commence it. There is far more danger of a civil war under a nominal union, than a legalized one between the two independent republics.

5. Does the Union sustain commerce between the two sections, and increase the wealth of the free States? Every eye in political economy knows, that the changes of government in nations, or their political relations to each other, do not materially affect their mutual commerce, unless restrained by rigorous penal laws; and that even these have not always the power to suppress such commerce. While the manufactures of the North afford a good market for the cotton of the South, no restrictions by the governments of either section on this commerce could be enforced, even if either party was so unwise as to make them; no such restrictions would be borne by the people of either republic. The loss of the revenue also, collected mostly at the North, and expended mostly for the benefit of the South, would be avoided; and this would more than compensate for any possible diminution of trade; and, certainly, no pecuniary gain should be considered in opposition to political freedom.

6. But the most serious and paramount question is the effect of the Union on the intelligence, humanity and morality of the North. All unbiased travellers in the slave States, and even residents, who are not interested to make misrepresentations, invariably report these attributes as at a far lower level than in the free States. The denial of the Scriptures to the slaves, causing their more general disease; the discouragement of other instruction; the frequent lynchings, expulsions, and murders, denote an awful state of barbarism; the complexities of a great portion of the population unmistakably indicate the prevalence of licentiousness; and the general practices of gambling, intemperance and profanity evince a depravity as low as that of savage communities. I do not deny exceptions; I speak of the state of society as a whole. Now it is next to impossible, that communities thus connected by political ties, strengthening those of a social and relative nature, should not have a corrupting influence, diminishing aversion, and obstructing the advance of intelligent and moral sentiment at the North; and, accordingly, we perceive this effect in the great increase of crime, noticed by moralists, part of which is indeed to be ascribed to immigration, but quite as much or more to the influence of Southern manners. It is noticeable, that this vicious conduct at the North is most apparent among those of the ignorant masses, who are the least opposed to the continuance of slavery. This influence would be much diminished by separation.

It is a consideration of momentous importance, that by the division between the free and slave States, the former will be exempted from the tyrannical and odious Fugitive Slave Law, and from all obligation to return escaped slaves to the cruel punishment of their masters, which is so torturing to the feelings of humane men of the North, supposed to be binding them, in defiance of their consciences, to the effective support of slavery; an evil not compensated by all the alleged advantages of the Union, if real, but now refuted.

It thus appears, that the free States not only derive no advantage from their Union with the slave States, but positive injury; and the desire and proposal for separation should rather proceed from the former, than from the latter; at least, the inference is, that when any of the slave States are bent upon secession, it should not be opposed by others, but permitted peacefully and cheerfully, as a happier revolution than that which delivered us from British domination. Every slaveholding State, which secedes from the Union, cuts off a decayed branch from its growth, and accelerates its advance to power, respect, virtue and prosperity.

J. P. B.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for January, 1861, makes its appearance promptly, with an attractive table of contents, including a timely paper on 'The Question of the Hour.'

## THE DOUBLE-DEALING OF THE SOUTH.

The real design of the action in the secession movement is becoming every day more and more apparent. Underneath the mass of resolutions offered in Congress, embracing 'plans' for adjustment of Southern 'claims,' and the bluster, bullying and terrorism of the unreasoning and unreasoning masses of men in the South, there is beginning to erop out that which by-and-by will stand in bold relief, the one all-absorbing, all-directing motive, at once the cause and foundation of all existing disturbances. Look! see! yonder our of the boiling sea of discord and commotion, already half-discovered through the vapory elements, a mighty and magnificent empire! As the clouds disperse, behold her gilded palaces, her lofty towers, her temples of science and religion towering up to greet the earliest rays of the sun of her independence! Who but the unimaginative can withstand this glorious vision? The Great Southern Confederacy, the pride of the nation, the paragon of empires, the patron of art and science, the whilery of statesmen and princes, her commerce sweeping the seas, her shores garrisoned with cities, her magnificent harbor furnishing safe anchorage to the shipping of every people and clime, her ports the most commodious and freest in the world, her 'divine institution,' her cotton, the sole and only needful basis of her wealth, and above all her splendid Church and State arrangements, the one abode of a royal priesthood pledged to the divinity of the 'institution,' the other the sure precursor of a long line of noble descendants! Is it strange that a great nation of 33,000,000 of freemen should suspend all work and worship to contemplate such a theme as this! No wonder that the Union threatens to crack and dissolve under the pressure of such a crushing thought!

Really, it is a hard case that well-disposed citizens, as everybody knows Northern men to be, should be constantly compelled almost at stated intervals to desert from our labors when we would much prefer to be at work to earn a few dollars for the support of our families, than to listen to harangues about secession and dissolution every time we would do a kind or honest thing either as citizens, Christians or men. We say it is confounded hard that, because we just want to set out the religion which our mothers taught us in infancy and youth, and which our Bibles and common sense teach us now—we say it is hard that in the exercise of that benevolence which our religion declares to be a duty, so that when a poor man knocks at our doors, and asks for bread or inquires the way to Canada—we say it is mighty hard that we can't be allowed to gratify this poor man's wish, without being liable to punishment therefor, on application to the legal authority, by a ruffian barbarian living a thousand miles off. Why, can't we even choose a President, or a Governor of a State, or enact a law, or speak or publish a word, or travel South as our National Constitution says we may, or even trade with anybody under the heavens tending in the slightest degree to illustrate our love for freedom rather than slavery, without thereby preparing halter for our own necks, or tar and feathers for our backs.

Now it is a fact, and we must say it even at the risk of our lives, that we do not like this state of things; and yet, it is because of this that our Southern brethren (some of them brethren, not all) are determined, if they can't go off and leave us, to constantly try to frighten us out of our wits with cries of secession; and yet, these poor deluded creatures, who have flattered themselves that they do frighten us—and it is a fact that they have, some of us—now begin to tell us themselves, and through their representatives in Congress, that they don't care a snap about our State legislation, or the choice we have just made of President; and some of them begin to whisper—(we are glad to see even faintest signs of returning honesty)—that they not only do not now care for us or our legislation, but that they never did; that there is a diverse and irreconcilable difference in our ideas and institutions; that we cannot live together on any possible terms for 'out stick,' whether we like it or not. Now there is no chance for an argument here. We concede the point. Our ideas and institutions are different and irreconcilable, and we don't complain of you because you dislike this fact. Why under the sun didn't you ever tell us of this before? Why don't you instruct your representatives in Congress to let it straight out to the Nation, so that we can all understand what it is you are driving at? Then we shall have something to talk by. It is always best to be honest, not because it is 'best policy'—the devil invented this phrase—but because it is best, and that's the long and short of it. Why, in the name of common sense, if you want to go out of the Union, and set up for yourselves, haven't you pluck enough to say so? We always thought you had pluck; for bowie-knives and pistols, tar, feathers and hemp, sell well in your section. Why, you always said you had pluck, and we never denied it—some. If you desired to go out of the Union, why did you want to fetch it about in such a sneaking way? Why compel editors, and speech-makers, and philosophers, and all sorts of thoughtful men, all over the nation, on the other side of the Atlantic and in Congress, to spend their money and their treasure to argue about personal liberty bills, and fugitive slave laws, and constitutions, and supreme courts, and presidential elections, and a thousand other things, and thus absorb the money and time and intellect of the people about matters which have no possible bearing on your case? O, this is poor, miserable business for Southern chivalry! It looks as if you were not so honorable and above-board as we used to suppose you to be. Now, for once, let us play a fair game; be serious, frank and honest. Use no longer those old eddies, pointings, rusty weapons of cunning and chicanery, employed so successfully in times past, in heaving your way to power. Strip off the mask! With open face and steady eye, clearly and honestly state your case! Urge the 'incompatibility of the two systems of labor,' and that, because of this incompatibility, you both honestly see and feel the necessity of separation. Make your appeal in man-fashion to the free, magnanimous North, and you shall not lack the listening ear. But do not, as you value your manhood, place yourselves in the attitude of hypocrites and cowards, and pretend to claim redress for grievances you never suffered. Do not, like a pettifogging lawyer, meanly seek to throw the burden of proof on the shoulders of those who never offered you any, and thus 'assume a virtue' which you know you do not possess. Shoulder to shoulder, in a solid unit, press straight to the issue. Declare your preference for a separate existence; that don't disgrace your nature, and the Union to which you now belong, by an effort to sneak away from under the cover of a lie, and then feel yourselves forced to steal the property of the United States in defence of a position which you will vainly strive to maintain!

## LETTER FROM A. T. FOSS.

VALLEY FALLS, (N. Y.) Dec. 14, 1860.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Permit me to give the friends of our cause a brief account of my recent Anti-Slavery labors.

In the month of October, I was about two weeks in the county of Coos, (N. H.) among the everlasting hills. There has been but little anti-slavery labor in this part of New Hampshire, and consequently the reign of pro-slavery Democracy has been but little disturbed.

There were three things that were most unfavorable to the success of my mission. First, the time was just on the heel of the Presidential election. Secondly, the weather was unpropitious, raining almost incessantly. And, thirdly, the typhoid fever was very prevalent through that whole vicinity. Still,

I had some good meetings, and there seemed to be considerable desire to hear more on this subject, which has been so long discussed, but which is always presenting some phases new and startling.

Our friends, the Higgins, of West Milan, gave me most hospitable welcome to their home, and the younger Mr. H. took his horse and carriage, and went with me from town to town, generously defraying the expenses out of his own pocket. I reckon this family among the best friends of our cause.

My next visit was on Cape Cod, where we always have good meetings, and which always seem to me like Bunyan's delectable mountains, from which one may catch glimpses of the celestial city.

There is at Harwich one good, faithful anti-slavery Orthodox minister. Mr. Munson invited me into his meeting-house, as he had done once before during the year,—to plead the cause of the slave. To meet such a minister is like an oasis in the desert. If all the ministers at the North were of like spirit and work, the days of slavery would be few in this land. No truer friends have the slaves of this country than are to be found on this sandy Cape.

Dec. 24,—that day made memorable forever by the martyrdom of the heroic, good old John Brown,—I had two good meetings in Fall River. In the evening, the large City Hall was well filled with attentive hearers, mostly young.

Last Sunday, Dec. 9th, I spoke for the first time in New Bedford. We had a good attendance in the afternoon. I took occasion to criticise with some severity the shortcomings of the Republican party. At the close of my address, a gentleman arose, and offered the following resolution:—

'Resolved, That the Republican party is the bulwark of American slavery.'

I supposed the speaker was one of our friends, of an ultra stripe. I was, therefore, quite in sympathy with him, and remarked that I had no objection to the resolution, only it seemed an implication that the Democratic party was not equally involved in this wicked support of slavery. I remarked that I had no objection to getting a shot at the Republican party, provided I could shoot through the heart of the Democratic party, which was always before me in iniquity. While making these remarks, I noticed great merriment and good feeling in the audience, which I could not account for, as I was quite sure I was saying nothing pungent or witty; but all was made very plain, when, at the close of the meeting, I learned that my ultra anti-slavery friend was no other than a Democratic lawyer, by the name of Cushman, who has a brother in Boston who is a United States Commissioner.

It was talked about town that our meeting in the evening would be mobbed and broken up by genteel rowdies, in imitation of their brethren in infancy at Boston. But the Mayor and Chief of Police were on hand, with the determination to protect the freedom of speech, and so the large audience was undisturbed, as the meeting in Boston would have been if those functionaries had been equally faithful. Some of my meetings in the week time have failed, others have been well attended. The petition for a Personal Liberty Bill meets with some favor, but will not be as numerous as last year.

One reason why the meetings in Fall River and New Bedford were so successful was, that they were thoroughly notified. If our friends in all places would be equally faithful, the labors of the Agents would be much more pleasant and profitable. I held a good though not large meeting in this place last evening. To-day I am enjoying the hospitality of the home of our friends Samuel and Elizabeth Chase, where many a weary worker in the world's reform has found rest to soul and body.

Yours truly, A. T. FOSS.

## THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on

WEDNESDAY, the 23d of January, Day and Evening, in Boston.

As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say, that ALL who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obtain special invitations (without which no party is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, and of the Ladies at their respective homes.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZABETH P. EDDY, SARAH P. REMOND, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. S. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA APTHORP, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in country towns with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums,—to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. Now, as the very time for the most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most devoted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence, nor an individual whose heart is in union with ours on this subject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the painful remembrance of having once been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception,—at all events, to receive their subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the arrangements for the evening reception, to welcome and receive the subscriptions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversation in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and shawls in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in the ante-rooms.

Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting at the door.

## 'WOMAN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW.'

MRS. DALL'S LECTURES. 16 SUMNER STREET. Mrs. DALL will deliver a course of Lectures on three successive Wednesday afternoons, at the Room of the Young Men's Christian Union, No. 16 Sumner street, to commence

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 9th, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Jan. 9. French and English Law.

Oriental paper for the Law's estimate of woman. Common law. Roman Law not pertinent. The estimate of the French Law shown in the rights of property, marriage and franchise. Women in the public sphere never promoted. The estimate of the Law regulates the price of labor. 'The Law's Revolution.' English Common Law. Divorce for hopeless insanity not allowed. Results. Anecdote of a London Court Room. Sir Charles Morgan's Aunt, and her opinion of the Law.

Jan. 16. The English Common Law—continued.

Equity. The Law's estimate of a woman's truthfulness. Divorce by Act of Parliament. The Hon. Mrs. Norton. Hungarian Law contrasted with the English. Practical immorality of the Law, which makes virtue in the wife depend on vigilance in the husband. Suffrage. Objections met. The Art Critic and Rosa Bonheur. Suffrage a death-blow to three kinds of Law. Harris v. Butler. Delicate discussion in Parliament. Divorce Bill. Duke of York's Trial. John Stuart Mill on Suffrage. Women of Upsal. 'Dames de la Halle.' Blackwood in 1854. Abolition in Parliament. Buckle's Lecture. Changes in Canada. Prussian's Ideas.

Jan. 23. The U. S. Law and the Secret of Success.

The despotism of a Republic. Kant. The man's notion. Foynter on Consistency. The Laws of nineteen States changed in ten years. Graham's decision. Mrs. Dorr's claim. New York Bill. Completion of legal immorality of the Law, which makes virtue in the wife depend on vigilance in the husband. Title to respect. Through Labor to Suffrage. Mean men. Woman's right to man as counselor and friend. The historical development of the question. The practical question. Mahomet and the Venetian Catechism.

These lectures are given in the afternoon in order to permit persons from the neighboring towns to attend. The subject is very little understood by women, and this course of lectures concludes the twelve Mrs. Dall originally projected.

Doors open at 2 P. M. Admission to each lecture, 25 cts.

## NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

Conventions, in the State of New York, to be addressed by Rev. HENRY J. WATSON, Rev. S. J. MAY, ARON M. POWELL, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and others, will be held as follows:—

Buffalo,	Thursday, Friday,	Jan. 3, 4.
Lockport,	Sunday,	" 8, 9.
Albion,	Tuesday, Wednesday,	" 8, 9.
Rochester,	Friday, Saturday, Sunday,	" 11, 12, 13.
Utica,	Monday, Tuesday,	" 14, 15.
Rome,	Thursday, Friday,	" 17, 18.
Cortland,	Saturday, Sunday,	" 19, 20.
Fulton,	Tuesday, Wednesday,	" 22, 23.
Watkins,	Thursday, Friday,	" 24, 25.
Port Byron,	Saturday, Sunday,	" 26, 27.
Syracuse,	Tuesday, Wednesday,	" 29, 30.
Auburn,	Thursday, Friday, Jan. 31, Feb. 1.	
Peterboro',	Saturday, Sunday,	" 2, 3.

The sessions of the conventions will be in afternoon and evening, at 2 and 7 o'clock. Afternoon sessions FREE—evening sessions, 10 cents.

Let there be a grand rallying of the People.

The friends in the several places will give free entertainment to those in



